THE NOVA SCOTIA LEGISLATURE

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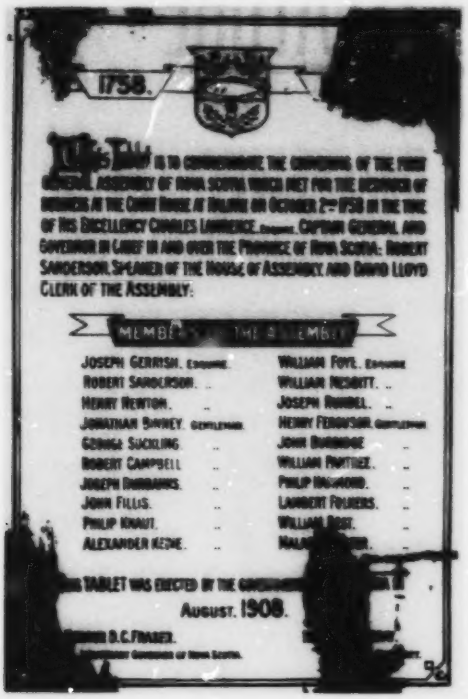
The First Assembly



Memorial tablet in Province House to the first representative government in Nova Scotia. In addition to those listed as Members of the Assembly were Benjamin Gerrish and John Anderson.

Within the grey walls of Nova Scotia's Province House lie the bases of Canadian democratic freedom. A bronze tablet at the entranceway commemorates "the convening of the first General Assembly of Nova Scotia which met for the dispatch of business at the Court House at Halifax on October 2nd, 1758." This was the first assembly of elected representatives in Canada.

Poets, statesmen and scholars have since praised the singular importance of that day. "View it in whatever lights you will," wrote the Nova Scotia author Archibald MacMechan, "that meeting of 19 men...was a memorable event. It meant the planting of free political institutions in what is now Canada. It meant lighting such a candle as by God's grace will never be put out."

The representative government of 1758 was the first big step in the evolution of our democratic institutions. It did not come easily. Nova Scotia, or as the French called it, Acadia, was the site of the first permanent European settlement North of the Gulf of Mexico. But it was raided, captured and traded back and forth four times in a century to suit the imperial interests of Britain and France. It was finally taken by the British in 1710 and formally ceded to them in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht, which closed out a lengthy European war.

During that early period the colony underwent two different forms of government, proprietary and royal. When Pierre du Gua, Sieur de Monts, founded Port Royal in 1605, the "government" was based on the provisions of his commission as proprietor. The same was true for the short-lived administrations of Sir William Alexander, and of Sir William Temple, a few years later. Gradually, under both French and English regimes, government of the colony came more directly under the Crown.

Port Royal, which had been the seat of both French and English rule in Nova Scotia almost continuously, was renamed Annapolis Royal in honour of the English Queen. In 1719 Governor Richard Phillips was instructed to form a civil administration, composed of himself and an advisory Council of Twelve "fitting and discreet persons," which he did in 1720.

The Governor and Council established themselves as a court in 1721, and most of our institutions of justice in Canada date back to that time in the old capital of Annapolis Royal. However, the elected Assembly and the practice of representative government in Nova Scotia had to wait for a couple of generations.

Though New Englanders were established in Annapolis Royal and Canso, most of the population of Nova Scotia during the first half of the 18th century was Acadian (French) and the Indians who were their allies. The Acadians were reluctant to accept British sovereignty, and legal obstacles restricted the flow of English-speaking colonists. Without an elected Assembly, the Governor could not make laws including those guaranteeing new settlers their rights as British subjects. And without a great many more English-speaking settlers, unfortunately, there could be no Assembly.

In all matters not set out in his commission, the Governor was ordered to follow the practice of Virginia though the administrative arrangements of southern plantation owners hardly suited the geography or the commercial society which was to grow up in Nova Scotia. Massachusetts might have been a better model. In resisting the development of Nova Scotia as a separate province, Massachusetts at least recognized the similarities of a potential competitor. But, at a time when Britain was trying to bring the American colonies under closer control of the Crown, the republican tendencies of Massachusetts were in disfavour.

It was the founding of Halifax in 1749 by Colonel Edward Cornwallis that eventually brought representative

Samuel Vetch, Governor of Nova Scotia, 1710-12.

Annapolis Royal was the site of the former capital of Nova Scotia, under both French and English regimes. From an early drawing by J.F.W. DesBarres.

government into effect. Within a decade Nova Scotians had their first elected Assembly, though not without a struggle. The young aristocrats, ex-soldiers and London labourers were too busy building and fighting off Indians to worry much about the form of government. The New Englanders, who succeeded most of Cornwallis's English settlers in Halifax, adapted more easily to frontier life. They were accustomed to popular government and demanded an Assembly. Representative government was introduced by royal prerogative.

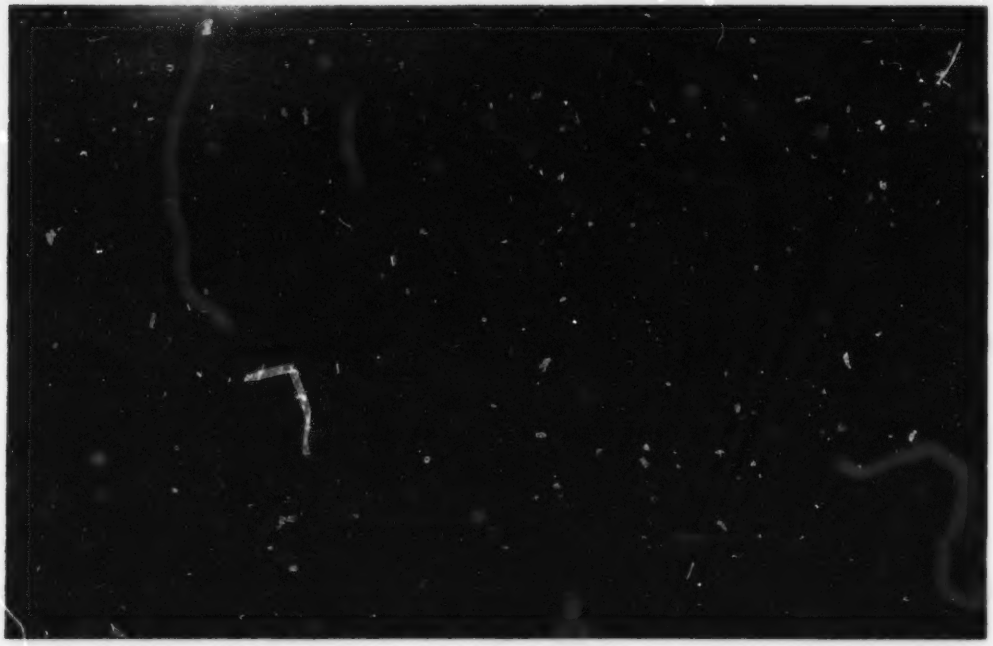
However, Cornwallis was in no hurry to bring about an Assembly of elected representatives. His instruction from Britain was to form an Assembly as soon as this was expedient. And despite the protests of the population and his orders, Cornwallis, in his new capital, Halifax, never found it expedient. In his military and political judgement Nova Scotia was not ready for an elected Assembly. As the first Governor to name his own Council, Cornwallis ruled largely by proclamation and decree, as had Governor Phillips earlier in Annapolis Royal.

With the appointment of Charles Lawrence as Lieutenant Governor in 1753, the British government began to worry about the legality of ruling Nova Scotia by Governor and Council with no Assembly. The first Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, Jonathan Belcher, was to investigate. But there was no question in the mind of Governor Lawrence concerning the Assembly. He shared the opinion of his predecessors. In 1755, the year the Acadians were tragically deported, Lawrence wrote to Lord Halifax: "I know nothing so likely to obstruct and disconcert all measures for the publick Good, as the foolish squabbles that are attendant upon Elections..."

For three more years the Governor of Nova Scotia resisted forming an Assembly while the Board of Trade, the branch of British government then responsible for colonial policy, continued to advise respectfully that he do so. The Halifax settlers bitterly protested the delay in a series of charges, pamphlets and petitions. Finally, in 1758 an elected committee of the freeholders of Halifax appointed an agent in London to place their arguments for an Assembly before the Board of Trade.

This time Lawrence was ordered to call an Assembly. In a letter received in May, he was told that the Board of Trade, "...having so often and so fully repeated to you Our sense and Opinion of the Propreity & Necessity of this measure taking place, it only now remains for us to direct its being carried into immediate execution."

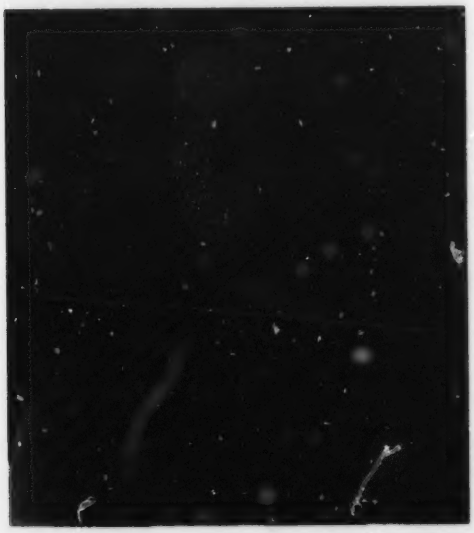
Before sailing from Halifax to lead his troops as a brigadier in the final siege and capture of French Louisbourg,



Halifax, as drawn from "ye top-masthead" in 1750-the year after it was founded. Note palisades and the prominence given the stocks and gallows.

Governor Lawrence made arrangements for the first provincial election, to be held in July. Voters had to own freehold property, be 21 or over and, of course, be British. In tune with the religious intolerance of the period, Catholics were not allowed to vote. As for the "foreign Protestants" of Lunenburg, they were quickly naturalized to ensure eligibility.

Thus, the first Legislative Assembly in Canada was elected by the people of Nova Scotia. It met in the chambers of the Supreme Court of Nova Scotia, established four years earlier. The Assembly consisted of 22 Members though only 19 were present for the opening on that historic day, October 2, 1758. There were four representatives from Halifax, two from Lunenburg and 16 from the province at large. More than half were settlers from New England. Halifax merchant Robert Sanderson became the "first commoner" or Speaker of the House.



Charles Lawrence, Lieutenant Governor 1753-56, Governor 1756-60. He called the first election in the country.

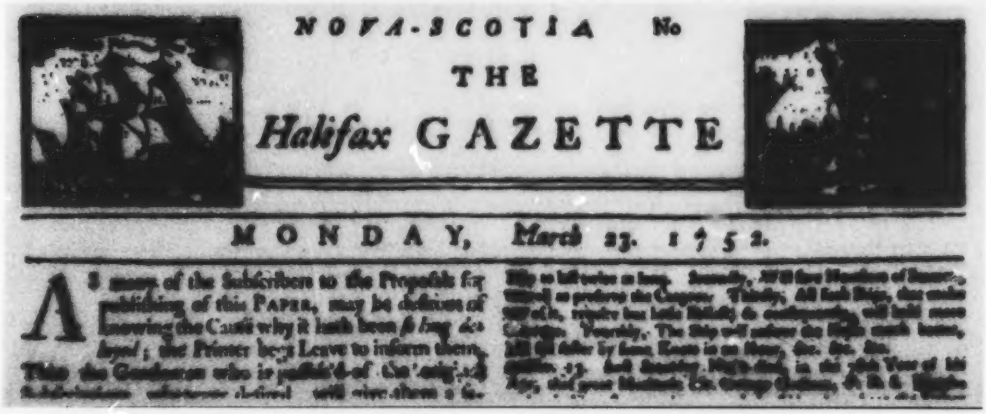
Left. *Colonel Edward Cornwallis, Governor of Nova Scotia 1749-52. He founded Halifax in 1749 as the new capital of the Royal Province, and named it for the Earl of Halifax.*

The Governor's residence built by Charles Lawrence on the present site of Province House, is at the centre of this print of Halifax published in 1759. To the left is the dissenters' church, called Mather's meeting house, and to the right is St. Paul's.

Jonathan Belcher, first Chief Justice of Nova Scotia, and Lieutenant Governor 1760-63.

After signing the election proclamation of 1758, Governor Lawrence sailed from Halifax to take part in the second siege of French Louisbourg. The siege scene (right) was drawn by Captain Ince and published in 1762.

The Halifax Gazette published by John Bushell in 1752 was the first newspaper published in Canada. A year earlier, Canada's first printing press was established in Halifax.



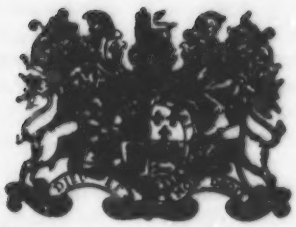
NOVA-SCOTIA No

THE

Halifax GAZETTE

MONDAY, March 23. 1752.

The proclamations for the first general election set out the composition of the Legislative Assembly, the constituencies, and the qualifications required of candidates and voters.



Province of Nova-Scotia.

Council-Chamber, *Halifax* 20th *May*, 1758.

HIS Excellency the Governor, together with His Majesty's Council, having had under mature Consideration the necessary and most expedient Measures for carrying into Execution those Parts of His Majesty's Commission and Instructions which relate to the Calling General Assemblies within the Province, came to the following Resolutions thereon, *Viz.*

That a House of Representatives of the Inhabitants of this Province, be the Civil Legislature thereof, in Conjunction with His Majesty's Governor or Commander in Chief for the Time being, and His Majesty's Council of the said Province: The first House to be elected and convened in the following Manner, and to be stiled the GENERAL ASSEMBLY, *Viz.*

That there shall be elected for the Province at large, until the same shall be divided into Counties, Sixteen Members: For the Township of *Halifax*, Four: For the Township of *Lunenburg*, Two.

That until the said Townships can be more particularly described, the Limits thereof shall be deemed to be as follows, *Viz.*

That the Township of *Halifax* comprehend all the Lands lying southerly of a Line extending from the westermost Head of *Bedford Basin* comes to the northernmost Head of *St. Margaret's Bay*, with all the Islands situate to that Lands, lying at, with the Islands called *Carnwallis's*, *Hill's*, and *Rous's* Islands.

That the Township of *Lunenburg* comprehend all that Lands lying between *Lahave* River and the eastermost Head of *Mahone* Bay, with all the Islands within that Bay, and all the Islands within *Merliguash* Bay, and those Islands lying to the Southward of the above Limits.

That when Fifty qualified Inhabitants shall be settled at *Pyfield*, *Minas*, *Chignecto*, or any other Townships which may hereafter be erected, each of the said Townships so settled, shall, for their Encouragement, be entitled to send Two Representatives to the *General Assembly*, and shall likewise have a Right expressing in the Election of Representatives for the Province at large.

That the House shall consist of at least Eleven Members present, besides the Speaker, before they enter upon Business.

That no Person shall be chosen as a Member of the said House, or shall have a Right of voting in the Election of any Member of the said House, who shall be a Popish Recusant, or shall be under the Age of Twenty-one Years, or who shall not at the Time of such Election, be possessed in his own Right of a Freehold Estate within the District for which he shall be elected, or shall be vote, nor shall any Elector have more than one Vote for each Member to be chosen for the Province at large, or for any Township; and that each Freeholder present at such Election, and giving his Vote for one Member for the Province at large, shall be obliged to vote also for the other Fifteen.

That subsisting Grants which may have been executed by the Sheriff, by Virtue of an Execution, the Right of voting shall remain and continue as before such time whereon the same were taken in Execution, until the Time of Redemption be elapsed.

That no non-commissioned Officer or private Soldier in actual Service shall have a Right of voting, by Virtue of any Dwelling built upon Settlement, nor any Possession of Freehold, unless the same be registered to him.

That all the Electors shall, if so required at the Time of the Election, take the usual State Oaths appointed by Law, and declare and subscribe the Test.

That any Voter shall, at the Request of any Candidate, be obliged to take the following Oath, which Oath, together with the State Oaths the returning Officer is hereby empowered to administer.

"I A B *do swear, that I am a Freeholder in the Township of* ..... *in the Province of Nova-Scotia, and have Freehold Lands or Hereditaments to the Value of* ..... *within the said Township, and that such Freehold Estate hath not been made or granted to me fraudulently or purposely to qualify me to give my Vote, and that I have not received or had, by myself, or any Person whatsoever, in Trust for me, or for my Use and Benefit, directly or indirectly, any Sum or Sums of Money, Office, Place, or Employment, Gift or Reward, or any Promise or Security for any Money, Office, Employment or Gift, in order to give my Vote at this Election, and that I have not before been polled at this Election, and that the Place of my Abode is at* ....."

That a Precept be issued by His Excellency the Governor, to the Provost-Marshal or Sheriff of the Province, requiring him, by himself or his Deputies, to summon the Freeholders of the Province to meet within their respective Districts, at some convenient Place and Time, to be by the said Provost-Marshal, or one of his Deputies, appointed, and of which he or they shall give Twenty Days Notice, then and there to elect (agreable to the Regulations hereby prescribed) such a Number of Representatives as shall in the said Precept be expressed, agreable to the preceding Detail.

That the Precept for convening the said Assembly, be made returnable on the second Day of *October* next.

That the Provost-Marshal, or His Deputies, shall appoint the respective Officers of the Elections, as he from time to time shall think proper, out of Those of the Freeholders present, to be appointed and sworn by the returning Officer for that Purpose; and in case a Equality shall be demanded, the same shall be made by them; and in case of further Contest, the same to be determined by the House. The Poll for each Township to be closed at the Expiration of Forty-Eight Hours from the Time of it's being opened; and for the Province at large, the Poll after four Days from the Time of it's being opened for the Election, shall be sealed up by the returning Officer for each Township, and transmitted to the Provost-Marshal by the first Opportunity, that reasonable Notice may be given to the Persons who shall, upon Examination, appear to have been chosen by the greatest Number of the said Votes. *Provided nevertheless*, That if the Votes in the Townships of *Annapolis Royal* and *Cumberland*, for the first Members for the Province at large, shall not be returned eight Days before the Expiration of the Time limited for returning the Precept, the Provost-Marshal shall, in such Case, proceed to declare who are the Persons elected from the other Votes in his Hands.

That the Provost-Marshal, or his Deputy, shall appoint for each Candidate such one Person as shall be nominated to him by each Candidate, to be Inspectors of the returning Officer and his Assistants.

That no Person shall be deemed duly elected, who shall not have the Votes of a Majority of the Electors present.

That the Names of all Persons voted for, together with the Number of the Votes, shall, at the Time of poll to publickly declared, and entered on record [illegible]

That in case of the Absence of any of the Members from the Province, for the Term of two Months, it shall and may be lawful for the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor or Commander in Chief (if he shall judge it necessary) to issue his Precept for the Choice of others in their Stead. That the returning Officer shall cause the foregoing Resolution to be publickly read at the Opening of each Meeting for the Election, and to govern the final Meetings agreable thereto.

Cha^s Lawrence.

By His Excellency's Command, with the Advice and Consent of His Majesty's Council.

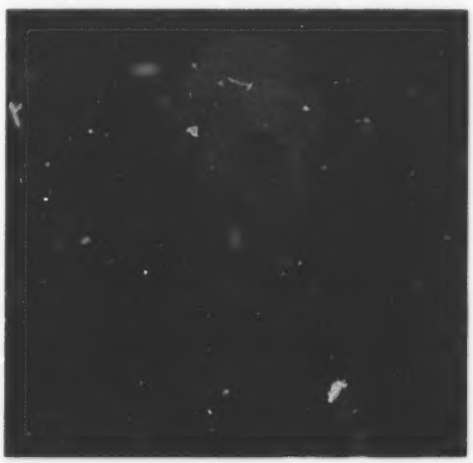
Jn^o Duport, *Str: Conc:*

A Time of Change

The American Revolution of 1776 cost Britain its first empire. Nova Scotia, formerly the 14th colony of British North America, stood out as exemplary in its representative form of colonial government. It became the model for other colonies in what is now Canada and throughout the British overseas empire which, together with the United Kingdom, now form the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Times of London in 1912 editorialized, "The Nova Scotia Assembly (1758) was the beginning of that great development which has given us the free nations of the Empire and Commonwealth."

In the year of that editorial a Memorial Tower was built at a Halifax seaside park to celebrate our first Legislative Assembly and its great significance in the growth of political freedom in all Commonwealth countries. The tower was built on land donated by Sir Sandford Fleming, who brought us standard time among many other of his accomplishments. It is constructed of native granite and ironstone and contains panels representing all parts of the Commonwealth. At the entranceway lie guardian lions, bronze replicas of those in London's Trafalgar Square.

Our tower is modest compared to many of the world's grand monuments to liberty. It is set amid flowering shrubs, picnic tables and adjoins a public beach on the North West Arm of Halifax Harbour. It is a campanile tower but with no weighty bell-only the ring of children's voices on a summer's day, from the lookout on top.



Sir John Wentworth, Lieutenant Governor 1792-1808. An ardent loyalist, he built the present Government House to exhibit the grandeur of British monarchy in the overseas colonies.

In a sense this tower is Canada's memorial to political freedom, our "statue of liberty." It connotes peace rather than bloody victory. It is especially appropriate inasmuch as democracy in Nova Scotia did not come about by armed revolution, but by the persistent and peaceful exercise of the parliamentary process.

The form of representative government established in 1758 survived for the best part of a century. It contained the vital seed of democratic liberty, but elaborate constitutional reforms were needed to let it grow with the country and the people.

British power in Halifax ensured that the 14th colony did not join in the American Revolution. And to make certain republicanism did not arise, nor colonial strength assert itself too vigorously, Nova Scotia was partitioned in 1784 to create the new provinces of New Brunswick and Cape Breton Island. Prince Edward Island had been separated from Nova Scotia in 1769. Cape Breton was reunited in 1820. Splitting up the territory was also meant to bring the benefits of government institutions to the more distant areas of the former province.

However, the arrival of the American loyalists and Scottish settlers in Nova Scotia in the last quarter of the 18th century, and the emergence of the Bluenose colony as an ambitious commercial power, helped create a bigger, more complex society. Nova Scotians soon wanted more control of their public affairs, and were not hesitant to say so.

Their wishes reflected the widespread libertarian ideas of the period following the French Revolution and the American War of Independence. In the early 19th century, reform had achieved responsible government in England. Not so in the colonies. The form of government in Nova Scotia, though revered, was impractical for daily use.

The change in status of the Governor of Nova Scotia to that of Lieutenant Governor, the King's representative in the province, had little effect on the political realities. He remained primarily responsible to the British government for the conduct of public affairs, and not to the people of Nova Scotia or their representatives. And though the role of the elected Assembly was meant to be relatively passive, by the 1830s it was no longer working out that way.

For generations, colonial officials had been sent out to Nova Scotia

from Britain and virtually formed a ruling class, a privileged and exclusive circle of patronage and favouritism. Government House, the still elegant residence of the Lieutenant Governor was, in the time of the reformers, the focus of a glittering and fashionable society.

While the entrenched power and wealth of the privileged class depended on government patronage, the reformers as well as conservatives in the Assembly represented the broader population of Nova Scotians, including an educated, aggressive and growing middle class not endowed with the traditional favours of rank and office.

The reform movement in Nova Scotia gained momentum, propelled by the parliamentary genius and popularity of the reform leaders, Joseph Howe, J.B. Uniacke, Herbert Huntington, John Young, William Young and the flamboyant Lawrence O'Connor Doyle, who is reputed to have beheaded the decorative eagles in Province House because he believed they suggested republicanism. The reformers avoided revolutionary or republican labels, insisting that all they wanted for Nova Scotia were the same political rights as those citizens of Britain.

The Assembly had already gained substantial control of the public purse, or treasury, through gradually acquiring the right of possession for most revenues. However, neither the Members of the Assembly, nor the people at large, had any power over selection of the ruling Council members and no means of holding them accountable, or "responsible", for the policies and practices of the colonial government.

To bring the Council under control of the Assembly required crucial changes in the province's colonial constitution which was derived from the King's commission and instructions to the Governors and, later, the Lieutenant Governors of Nova Scotia. These prescriptions for the exercise of power had changed little since the days of Cornwallis: the vice-regal representative chose the members of His Majesty's Council who were then appointed for life, subject to acceptable public behaviour.

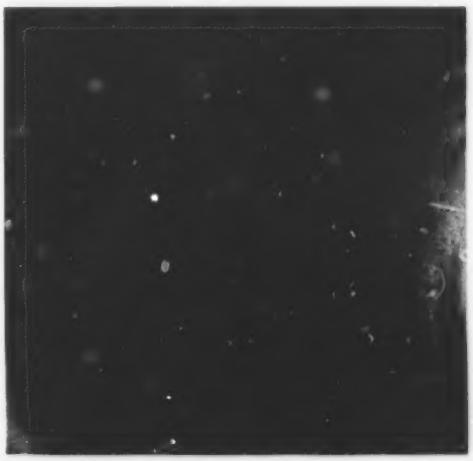
He ruled with the advice of the formidable Council of Twelve - later expanded to 21 members - and with the approval of the elected Assembly. Taken together, they were called the General Assembly. But the rising conflict between the wishes of the elected Assemblymen and the actions of the appointed Council threatened good government.

The Crown supported representative government in 1758. However, it strongly resisted the required constitutional changes in the 1830s to initiate responsible government.

Two options were considered by the reformers: to demand that the Council members be elected rather than appointed, making the executive directly and separately responsible to the electorate, similar to the American model; or to make composition and behaviour of the Council contingent on support of the elected Assembly, as in the British role. The reformers chose the newer British model, though it required disciplined political parties and a free press to inform the public and maintain popular support.

The alignment of Assemblymen into party groupings of different persuasion had begun as early as the 1780s with the arrival of the Loyalists in the aftermath of the American Revolution and continued into the 1800s. However, on the floor of the House of Assembly it was the pressure of events and the reform movement itself that helped shape emerging partisan factions into the first disciplined political parties in the province - the Tory Party and the Reform Party.

The Halifax Gazette, founded in 1752, began reporting the activities of the General Assembly in 1814, the first newspaper to do so. In later years, leading up to 1835, however, newspaper comment came under growing repression by the ruling establishment, with the threat of punitive libel laws.



Duke of Kent

Julie St. Laurent

Lady Wentworth

Among the principals of the sparkling society of the regency period in Halifax were Prince William who later became King William IV; his brother the Duke of Kent; the Duke's companion, Julie St. Laurent; Sir John and Lady Wentworth.

It was the young Joseph Howe, publisher of The Novascotian, a Halifax based newspaper, who won freedom of the press for not only Nova Scotia but all of the remaining colonies in British North America in 1835. He had been charged with libelling magistrates in the city of Halifax and in a seven hour speech before the court he was acquitted by his peers. His plea was that the statement in his paper was in the public interest.

The charge of corruption against the magistrates governing Halifax was Howe's first effective blow against the ruling establishment. It was held in the Supreme Court in what is now the Legislative Library, and was more important because the jury rejected the instructions of the court in ten minutes of deliberations. The resulting acquittal represented a public rebuke of colonial government practices in appointing government officials.

John Merrick of Halifax who is credited with the architectural design of Province House.

This Memorial Tower in Halifax's Fleming Park celebrates the founding of representative government in Nova Scotia with the Assembly of 1758-the first in Canada and in the Overseas Commonwealth.

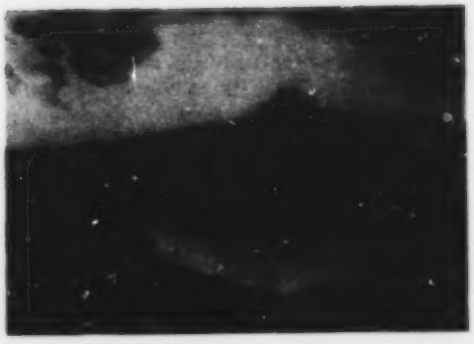
Province House today is considered one of the finest examples of the 18th century style of architecture in Canada. Located on the site of the former Governor's residence, it took eight years to build, and was opened in 1819. This drawing, published in Halifax the same year, was dedicated to the Lieutenant Governor, the Earl of Dalhousie.

Howe's trial launched him in politics. And..."from that moment," as historian Thomas H. Raddall put it, "privilege never looked comfortable." The reformers gradually brought the executive, the legislative authority and the public purse under control of the elected Assembly by the use of the parliamentary process.

Joseph Howe, Reform Leader and later Premier 1860-63, was appointed Lieutenant Governor in 1873.

SUPREME COURT, HILARY TERM.

The account of Joseph Howe's celebrated trial, published in his newspaper, The Novascotian.



The view of early Halifax was published in 1829 in Thomas Chandler Haliburton's Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia.

Sir John Wentworth's elegant Government House was completed in 1805. The drawing published in Halifax in 1819 shows the east entrance with wooden porches attached. The main entrance today is on the west side.

Responsible Government

In 1838 the colonial government altered the legislative powers of the old Council, with the appointment of a new Legislative Council to sit as an Upper House. However, the old Council retained its executive powers. And the reformers chose to concentrate on this Executive Council, seeking the right to obtain a change of Executive Council whenever the elected Assembly voted no confidence in it.

The principle of responsible government was won in the Nova Scotia House of Assembly in 1840, when a vote of no confidence in the Executive Council brought the resignation of the Lieutenant Governor who had rejected the vote. But placing the first responsible government in power had to await a general election. Meanwhile, efforts by the Colonial Office to compromise only reinforced party solidarity and the will of the reformers. Finally, in the election of 1847, the Reform Party made responsible government the issue at the polls, and won the day.

The House opened on January 22, 1848, and two days later J.B. Uniacke moved that "the present Executive Council does not possess the confidence so essential to the promotion of the public welfare and so necessary to ensure Your Excellency (the Lieutenant Governor) the harmonious cooperation of this Assembly." After two days debate the motion carried and the following day the existing Executive Council resigned. Responsible government had arrived in Nova Scotia.

The Lieutenant Governor asked Uniacke to select the members of a new Executive Council and form the government - no restrictions on his choice. With Uniacke as premier and attorney-general, and the indomitable Howe as provincial secretary, the new Executive Council took the oath of office on February 2, 1848, inaugurating the first responsible government in what was to be Canada and the overseas Commonwealth.

Today, a bronze statue commemorating Joseph Howe, the Nova Scotia patriot, stands in the small square south of Province House - the scene of his trial and his achievement.

Incredibly, the reformers had turned out an inept and self-serving colonial oligarchy and established popular government in Nova Scotia, without firing a shot. Responsible government was not built on blood. It could not have happened without an aggressive and proficient elected Assembly to begin with. In this era, many of the nations of Europe were scarred by the fires of freedom revolutions including the United States. Even when the colonies of Upper and Lower Canada brimmed with bloody rebellion, Nova Scotians won their battle with the political weapons of public opinion and shrewd debate on the floor of historic Province House.

They did not seek a republican form of government such as the sister colonies to the south chose earlier. Instead, Nova Scotia became a self-governing province under the constitutional monarchy of the empire. The paper "revolution" of the Nova Scotians was more successful than barricades and bombs.

Gala celebration on the Halifax Commons of the Coronation of Queen Victoria in 1838.

Responsible government, first in Nova Scotia and then in the other colonies, introduced into Canada the cabinet form of administration which was evolving in Britain. Though the Lieutenant Governor retained his position as the representative of the Crown and formal head of the Government of Nova Scotia, the active leadership of the province was assumed by the Premier, or first minister. His cabinet or ministry, composed of leading members of the elected Legislative Assembly, and requiring at all times the majority support of the Assembly, succeeded the old style of Executive Council, which was selected by the vice-regal authority.

Of course, the sovereignty of the state remained vested in the Monarch. Cabinet ministers were ministers of the Crown. To conduct the formal business of the province, the cabinet was constituted as the Executive Council, and its official orders signed by the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council, as they are today. The Legislative Council, which sat as an Upper House of the Legislature, retained an appointed membership, similar to the present Canadian Senate. It met in the Red Chamber of Province House. Before the end of the century, however, the Legislative Council had outworn its usefulness and on May 31, 1928, voted itself out of existence, paralleling most of these bodies in other provinces of Canada.

A Micmac Indian family in 19th century Nova Scotia.

In 1854 Province House was the site of the Nova Scotia Industrial Exhibition. The first in what is now Canada, it was patterned after the 1851 exhibition in London's Crystal Palace.

The Capital City of Halifax reflected the growing industrial age in this drawing by Robert Wilkie about 1853. Halifax shipping firms owned and operated some 200 square-rigged sailing ships in world-wide trade, while Cunard steamships served the port, and plumes of industrial smoke began to mark the skyline.

A New Nation

Within 20 years of Nova Scotia's remarkable attainment of political liberty, its brilliant Tory statesman, Sir Charles Tupper, helped form the Canadian Confederation, which joined together the former colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec) as the founding provinces of the Dominion of Canada, a new nation within the British Empire.

The creation of a federal government in 1867 drew heavily on the colonial experience of representative and responsible government in Nova Scotia and the other founding provinces, as well as the British Parliament of the period. With the Canadian Parliament established in Ottawa, the division of responsibilities between the provincial government and the new federal government naturally reduced the powers of the Government of Nova Scotia, and lessened membership in the provincial Legislative Assembly.

For example, Nova Scotia could no longer make its own trade and tariff regulations nor print its own money. And the Assembly, which totalled 44 seats when Howe entered politics, and had risen to 51 in the first year of responsible government, was reduced after Confederation until in 1870 there were only 38 seats. However, what was lost in traditionally provincial powers was made up in Nova Scotia's forceful political representation in the Canadian Parliament.

The emergence of democratic government, and new forms of political organization in 19th century Nova Scotia and Canada as a whole, represented increasingly sophisticated political responses to the problems and opportunities of rapid social and economic changes in a growing country. And political innovations, in turn, stimulated further changes.

The advent of early political reform and reform ideas in Nova Scotia in the 19th century helped achieve numerous social goals of fundamental importance in a modern democracy. These included the early abolition of slavery, the elimination of religious discrimination, the emergence of a free press, the early development of free public education, and the extension of voting rights in the direction of universal suffrage.

With the complexities of responsible democratic government, also came the need for disciplined and dedicated political parties. Thus, the Tories and reform advocates of the early part of the century became the Conservatives (now Progressive

Sir Charles Tupper, Premier of Nova Scotia 1864-67. He led Nova Scotia into the Canadian Confederation.

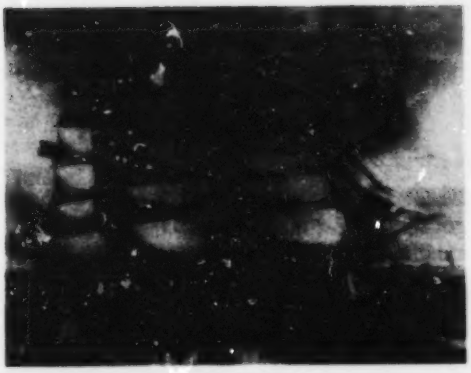
The spars of sailing ships crowd the Halifax waterfront in this 1869 photograph by William Notman.

Conservatives), and the Liberals. The New Democratic Party, in more recent years represented in the Legislature, derives from modern social and political reform movements begun in Western Canada in the late 1920s and 1930s.

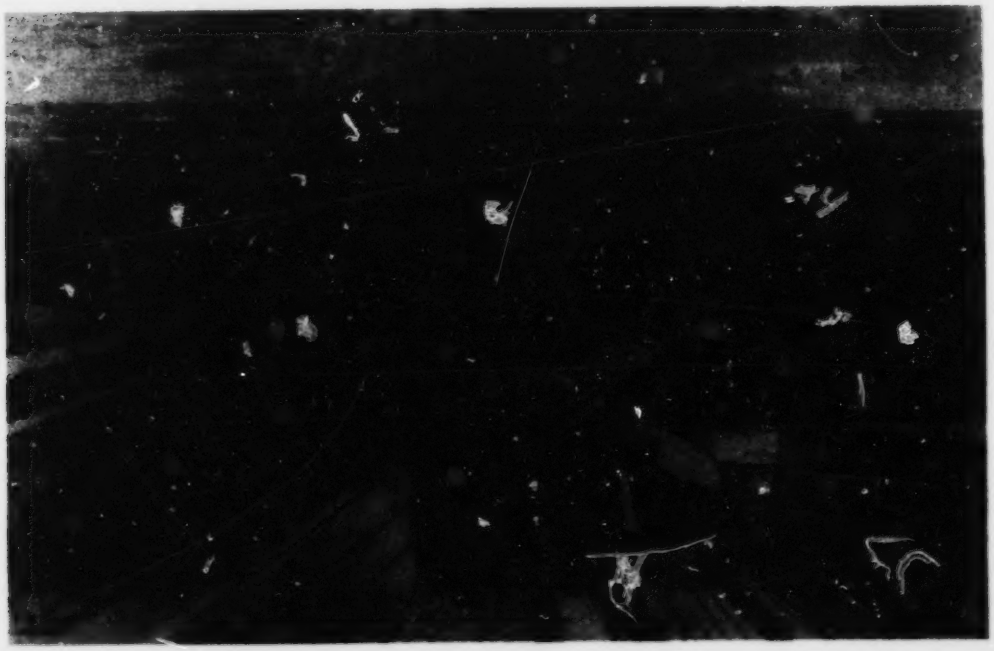
With political bases founded in the 19th century, successive provincial governments have worked with their federal counterparts. They have used emerging political instruments to carry on social and economic improvements in the conditions of life for Nova Scotians.

Debates today in the Legislature, which once heard Howe and Tupper, are directed to employment, environment, health care, educational financing, industrial growth, housing, human rights, social services, municipal needs, recreation, indeed almost anything but political liberty. Political liberty in Nova Scotia is no longer in question: but the use we make of this liberty characterizes its nature and is always debatable. It must remain so if liberty is to survive

Thus, Canadian liberty began in Nova Scotia when most of the rest of Canada was still wilderness. In our liberty we share with England's Magna Carta, Habeas Corpus and the Bill of Rights, broadening from precedent to precedent and sharpening characteristics of its own.



Crowning Nova Scotia's participation in the age of sail was the great ship W.D. Lawrence launched at Maitland in 1874. This was the largest wooden sailing ship built in Canada and the second largest in the world.



Soldiers of the garrison take a leisurely view of 19th century Halifax from the historic Citadel.

How Our Democracy Works

In our form of democracy the authority of the government derives from the people through their duly elected representatives, as constituted in the legislative assemblies of the provinces, and the federal parliament. Though the governments of the provinces and the nation are directly responsible for their actions to the legislative institutions of the people, the sovereignty of the state is vested in a constitutional monarchy which, on behalf of the people, formally sanctions government decisions. The Queen is represented in Canada by the Governor General, and in the provinces by the Lieutenant Governors.

When the efforts of the Fathers of Confederation established the Dominion of Canada in 1867, with Sir John A. Macdonald as first Prime Minister, there were some recriminations, some cheers. However, there was no declaration of independence. In fact the British North America Act was the Canadian constitution, though Canada remained a semi-autonomous state until the passage of the Statute of Westminster in 1931. In that year Canada gained control of her own foreign affairs, due, to a very great extent, to the groundwork of Sir Robert Borden, a former Prime Minister, who was a Nova Scotian. This statute abolished the doctrine of "repugnancy," that is, no Dominion legislation could in future be held ultra vires because it happened to be repugnant to legislation of the United Kingdom. Further, the Crown (government) in Great Britain lost its right to withhold consent to 'Dominion' legislation.

The old BNA Act, as well, allowed the founding colonies to retain their established forms of government and set out the basis of provincial representation in the new federal house, as well as the division of responsibilities between the federal and provincial governments. In recent years, numerous federal-provincial conferences sought means to revise and modernize the Canadian constitution, efforts which culminated in the historic agreement achieved at the First Ministers Conference held in Ottawa on November 25, 1981, excepting Quebec.

All that was now required for complete autonomy was the passage of the Canada Bill through the British Parliament, which was agreed to by the House of Lords on March 25, 1982, while the Queen gave Royal Assent on March 29. Thus the last vestige of control by Great Britain over Canadian affairs was removed. Less than a month later, on April 17, the Constitutional Act, 1982 was proclaimed by the Queen in Ottawa. This Act provides for an amending formula for future changes in the Constitution and a Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which ultimately came into effect on April 17, 1985. Changes required by the Charter were incorporated into Nova Scotia law by the Statute Law Amendment Act, 1985.

A further constitutional refinement, The Meech Lake Accord, was passed by Parliament in 1988 and has since been passed by the legislatures of eight provinces. It remains to be seen whether this accord, which would bring Quebec into the constitution, will receive the requisite approval of the two remaining provinces.

The steamship Sarmatian passes through ships of the British fleet in Halifax harbour en route to Her Majesty's Dockyard in 1878, bearing the new Governor General of Canada, the Marquis of Lorne, and Princess Louise.

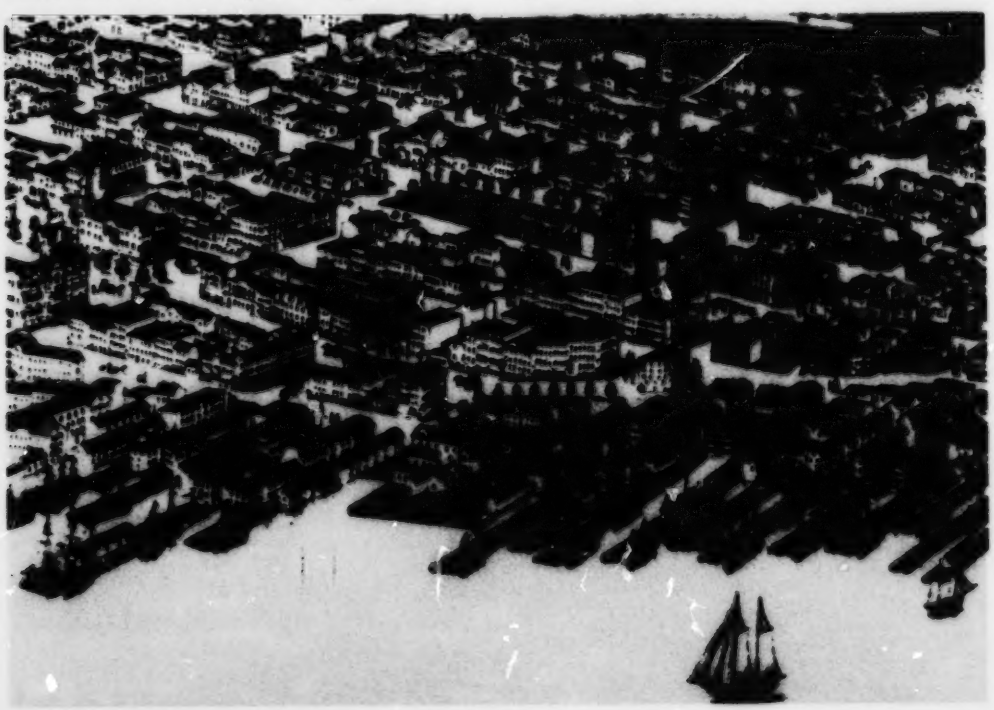
Our constitution is not to be compared with that of the United States. In many matters it is not explicit, leaving a great deal to the interpretation of succeeding governments, although the courts have taken a larger interpretative role since the passage of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This has both advantages and disadvantages. Our democratic parliamentary process, unconstrained by precise process, has been open-ended, self-adjusting, relatively free to continue its own evolution.

It has been said that if we had not inherited a monarchy, we would probably have had to invent one. It might have been a substitute in the form of a presidency or chairmanship, with sufficient tenure and detachment from day-to-day political urgencies, to approve officially the actions of individual governments on behalf of the people. In its present constitutional form, the monarchy is relatively modern. Our 19th century leaders were liberal enough for radical political reforms, yet sufficiently conservative to keep the best of what we had in legislative and monarchical institutions, and adapt them to the new political conditions.

The important elements of tradition in our democracy are often emphasized. But the crucial aspect of responsible parliamentary government, as introduced by Howe and his colleagues, concerned not perpetuation but departure from many of the old forms in this country, and the creation of new political structures to make possible a reasonably popular government. True, our reformers claimed they were seeking only the political rights accorded Englishmen in Britain, but these, too, had been undergoing critical reforms.

In our Nova Scotia system, all members of the government in power are first of all elected Members of the Legislative Assembly representing their home constituencies. The leader of the party with the majority in the Assembly becomes Premier, selects cabinet ministers from his side of the House, and proceeds to "form a Government." In this restricted sense, the word "government" means only the Premier and his cabinet who are formally invested by the Lieutenant Governor, as Ministers of the Crown, forming the Executive Council (of which the Premier is president). The word government is also used in a general way, of course, meaning the whole of the provincial administration.

Members of the Legislative Assembly are elected by popular ballot from the various constituencies throughout the province. However, total membership in the



A panoramic view of downtown Halifax and a portion of the waterfront in 1879. The Citadel is at the upper right, while middle left is Province House surrounded by small trees.

House varies over the years with periodic redistributions, reflecting the normal shifts in population. Following the redistribution of 1978, the number of Members was increased from 46 to 52.

Elected for a statutory term of five years, the Members of the Legislative Assembly hardly ever serve the full period before another election is called. The Premier decides the timing of the election within that five-year limit, based largely on strategies for winning, which means gaining a majority of the 52 seats in the Legislative Assembly needed to support any government in office. When the government party loses an election, the leader of the new majority party in the Legislative Assembly is asked by the Lieutenant Governor to form the next government.

There are other occasions on which an election may be called. The government may be introducing extensive new legislation and first want a new mandate from the people. At one time the Legislature was dissolved automatically on the death of the reigning sovereign, and new elections called. That custom has been abandoned. Today, the most dramatic occasion on which an election must be called is the loss of support in the Legislative Assembly for the government in power. This is a vital part of the mechanism of making the government responsible to the Assembly. Loss of support can occur at times when the government has a narrow majority in the House, or the balance of power is held by a third party. Under these circumstances, the government may be defeated in the Assembly by a majority of the Members voting no confidence in the government. In this case, the Premier usually has no choice but to ask the Lieutenant Governor immediately to dissolve the existing Assembly and call a general election. The same process applies to the federal Parliament.

The fact that the Nova Scotia Government is drawn from the elected Members of the Legislative Assembly, and must depend continually on the approval of the Assembly to remain in power, works in favour of popular legislation. It also represents a carefully regulated fusion of the legislative and executive (or government) powers, which means that the governing process actually works through the Assembly.

The degree of fusion and the dependence of executive powers upon the legislative authority makes the modern structure of government in this country distinctly different from that of the United States, which is built on the earlier political concept of a rigorous separation of the executive and legislative powers. In both countries the judiciary is separate, though all superior courts in Canada come under federal administration, and there is nothing to compare with the state supreme courts in the United States.

The democratic goals of the two countries may be similar, but differences in the institutions and practices of government can be confusing. For one thing, the role of an elected American state governor compares better with that of our Premier than with the vice-regal Lieutenant Governor. As the representative of the Queen in Nova Scotia, the Lieutenant Governor is appointed by the Governor General of Canada on the advice of the Canadian government.

The Marquis of Lorne and Princess Louise are received with elaborate ceremony on arrival in Halifax in 1878, at the oldest naval dockyard in North America.

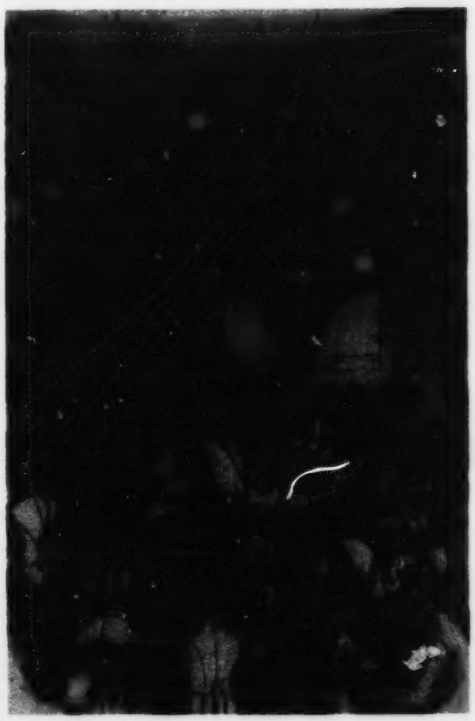
Ministers of The Crown

In our cabinet form of government, Ministers of the Crown are the executive heads of the numerous departments of the provincial administration. All Ministers of the Crown are in the Cabinet, and a Minister may be designated Minister of Health or of Development, or Municipal Affairs, or Attorney General, or as Minister in charge of the administration of an Act, or of a board or commission. In 1989 there were 22 cabinet ministers and 48 branches of government, including 21 departments and some other senior executive responsibilities held by Cabinet Ministers and by the Premier. Thus, Ministers may hold two or more portfolios and related ministerial positions for which they are responsible to the Cabinet or Executive Council which, in turn, is responsible to the Legislature.

In the management of his department, the Minister obviously needs executive ability but he need not be an expert in the specialized activities of the department. Operations of his department are carried out by an appointed deputy minister or the equivalent, and an appropriate professional, technical and administrative staff, which provides the necessary expertise. Most of these are civil service employees who as of March 31, 1989 totalled 10,310 people, working in Halifax and other centres throughout the province.

Thus, ministerial decisions are based on expert opinion and information, usually readily available. Conventional wisdom by itself is insufficient. Public service professionals have a hand in developing the programs they administer, and in shaping the policy alternatives for ministerial and government decisions. Though this technical input is increasingly necessary, the decisions of the Government and the Legislative Assembly must take into account other criteria. The public they serve is not an abstraction but a complex and lively collection of individuals and institutions with changing and conflicting demands. Modern democracy rests on the successful reconciliation of individual freedom and social necessity. Final decisions and priorities rely on informed moral and political value judgements. These are accomplished by the elected representatives who are responsible to the people.

The objectives of government and its departments, unlike those of a commercial corporation, are not to show profits but to provide services: using public funds to serve the public in a variety of ways, such as providing education, highways, justice, jobs, health services, resources development, assistance to communities. Sometimes efficiency must be sacrificed to effectiveness, something that taxpayers occasionally find hard to take. The cheapest government presumably would be the least government. But the economics of laissez-faire disappeared a couple of generations ago.



In the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly in Province House, the citizens of Halifax in 1878 witnessed the investiture of the Marquis of Lorne as Governor General of Canada. Accompanying the Marquis of Lorne was his wife, Princess Louise.

Modern Responsibilities

In recent years, public demand has required greatly increased services from all levels of government, provincial, municipal and federal. All this has made the political, economic, social and administrative tasks of government more complicated than ever before in our history. It also has meant bigger government. In the past 30 years the budget of the Province of Nova Scotia has increased more than 20 times. Economic conditions in the late 1970s, coupled with shifts in the mood of the public in this province and across Canada concerning the costs of increased public services, brought provincial government restraints on spending. Yet, more has been accomplished by government in Nova Scotia during recent years than at any other time in our history.

With the present scale of government at all levels, political and administrative decisions reach throughout society daily, affecting nearly everyone. Yet, by the nature of their size, the bureaucracies needed to handle efficiently the sheer volume of public demands may tend to be inaccessible or unresponsive, particularly if they are stumped momentarily by the questions people are asking. This can occur with unusual situations, or new kinds of proposals which do not fit the existing problem-solving apparatus - such as those arising from rapidly changing social conditions. Crises of this order often require political or other forms of intervention in routine administrative processes.

Traditionally, citizens have approached government in administrative matters through officials of the appropriate departments or, politically, through their local Members or Cabinet Ministers. With the increasing complexity of government, however, came the rising probability of individual grievances against the administration which might go unresolved. To deal particularly with the private complaints of ordinary citizens against government, Nova Scotia's first Ombudsman was appointed in 1971. As an independent commissioner of investigations, he is responsible to the Legislature rather than the government of the day.

On the other hand, public pressures for quick responses from government on complicated technical and political questions encouraged the formation of voluntary organizations, such as citizens' groups focusing on special problems and dedicated, at least in part, to making government work better for ordinary people.

While there is no specific system of lobbying or a registration of lobbyists in Nova Scotia, as part of the continual dialogue between citizens and government, groups representing special interests, such as manufacturing or agriculture, have always existed, usually presenting their cases by means of delegations, briefs and petitions. A mark of the new voluntary citizens' groups is their breadth of interest and concern with contemporary social and economic problems such as minority rights, living conditions, jobs, housing, education, environmental control and urban planning. Their methods include use of the new media, public meetings, confrontations and, occasionally, public demonstrations.

Consultation with voluntary citizens' groups and coalitions, particularly on planning and programs, and community discussions initiated by government agencies, are becoming established practice. This may invoke a useful degree of participatory democracy as well as improve communication between citizens and their government. Also involved is a considerable increase in public information on the activities of government.

All this suggests a revival of populist ideas, of the rights and responsibility of ordinary citizens to go some distance beyond the ballot box in having a say in their own government. Populism may help compel bureaucratic attention, and balance the perennial elite which would make government the prerogative of the specially qualified (once aristocrats, now perhaps, technocrats). However, people-power and social action groups have limitations.

Citizens' organizations, like any other special interest groups, are helpful in telling government agencies where they're wrong, and assisting in the formation and testing of proposed administrative or policy alternatives. They may represent one or more of a great many deserving and competing claims for government action but, of course, they do not in any legislative way represent the people of the province as a whole. The Members of the Legislature still have that role.

Nevertheless, no politician worth a vote can afford to forget that most of our political and social advances of the past couple of centuries were not originated by the incumbent rulers, but began in the hearts and minds of concerned citizens who formed

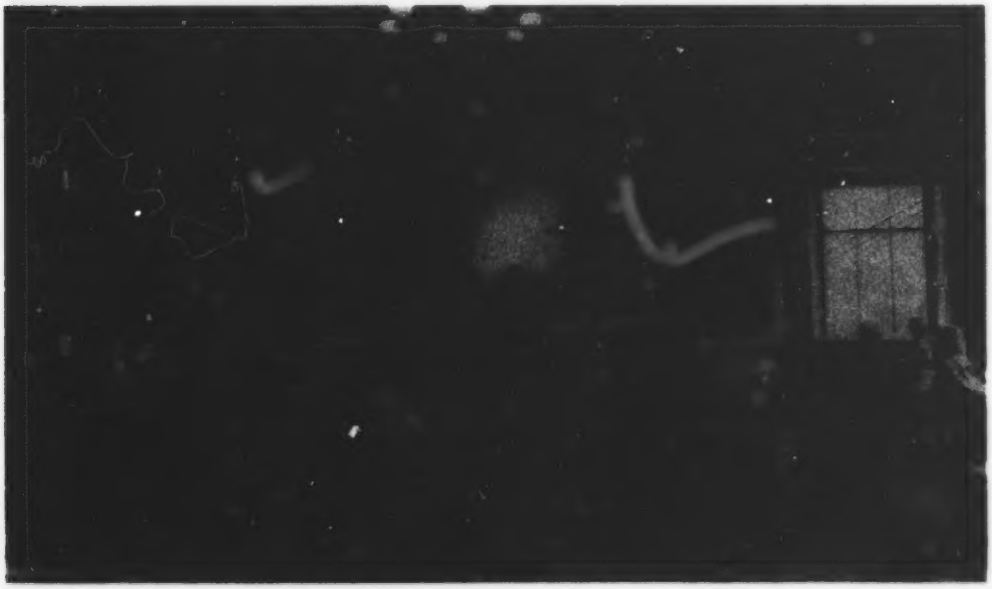
popular movements which eventually took on political dimensions. Democracy thrives on popular intervention in the governing process. That's the way it was with representative and responsible government. And the political activist groups of those times were not much different from the social activists of today.

Sometimes it seems that nothing much new has happened in the government of the country since the Fathers of Confederation had their final say, but the illusion fades quickly in view of the facts. In the present generation the changes which are taking place are almost revolutionary. These are not so much changes in form as the changes incurred by the expansion of the functions of national and provincial governments - and the municipal governments of towns and cities which have obtained their powers from the province.

The changes in government function because of the greatly increased responsibilities in social and economic matters bring increasing pressures for change in the existing structures and institutions of government to accommodate the new developments. This is obvious in the recent efforts at reforming the national constitution. It is also apparent in the creation of the Council of Maritime Premiers to achieve greater regional coordination of certain government services. Human rights legislation in Nova Scotia is not only helping minority groups gain greater social and economic freedom, it is opening the way to broader participation in political decisions, and reinforcing the multicultural character of our contemporary society.

While a simple thing like reducing the voting age to 18 years significantly alters the nature of the electorate, and the eligibility of 19-year-olds as provincial election candidates opens the Assembly to more youthful representation, government continues to expand into new fields. In recent years, new departments and agencies of government have been established in Nova Scotia with responsibilities in areas which a generation ago were almost completely outside the formal concern of government - recreation, environment, consumer affairs, energy conservation, and the human rights of minority groups.

Today, Government is big business in Nova Scotia, as it is in the rest of Canada, yet the number of Cabinet Ministers or executive officers charged with running our public business on a day-to-day basis remains relatively few. Regularly, every Thursday in Province House, the Premier and his Cabinet meet as the Executive Council to deal with major administrative and policy decisions affecting the progress of the government as a whole. At the same time new policies and programs are gradually being worked up for presentation to the next session of the Nova Scotia Legislature.



In this 19th century photograph, a committee of politicians meets in the Red Room of Province House.

The Legislative Assembly

The Mace, showing the Arms of Nova Scotia below the Crown and, on the right, showing on the opposite side the Great Seal of the Province.

Technically, the Legislature consists of the Members of the Legislative Assembly (including the Premier and Cabinet Ministers) plus the Lieutenant Governor, though the vice-regal function is almost exclusively ceremonial. Government policy is made by the Cabinet or Executive Council. Its routine decisions may be adopted at any time as orders of the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council. Major policy decisions, however, go through the Legislative Assembly where they are explained publicly and approved, rejected or modified by Members of the Legislative Assembly; those which are approved by the House are formally accepted by the Lieutenant Governor, then carried out by the appropriate Ministers and their departments in the public service.

In Nova Scotia the annual session of the Legislature lasts 12 to 20 weeks, February to late spring. The session of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia is the provincial parliament - a word which comes of a hoary political tradition through Old English and Old French, meaning simply a talking place. It's very appropriate. Politicians are sometimes criticized for being all talk and no action, but it must be understood that rational discourse and the resolution of differences on the course of action to be taken by government form the basis of the democratic parliamentary process. After all, it was not blind action but intelligent and forceful debate which won us responsible government.

As in debate the affirmatives take one side of the question and argue exclusively in favour, those opposed take the other side and argue against. Based on classical logic, it's the formal method of allowing different minds to express diverse sides of an issue, and reach a reasonable conclusion as a group. Debate is the heart and soul of the parliamentary process. Nevertheless, the adversary style of rhetoric as practised in most parliaments (as well as the courts) is hard to comprehend on first acquaintance.

The important business of the Legislature is legislating, or making laws. This means that the legislators' decisions have the force and character of laws - and not that they are busy inflicting new prohibitions. However, it also means that the new policies and programs proposed by the government are all framed in the arcane language of the law. Government proposals may be as elaborate as establishing a new department, as far-reaching as new taxes, or minuscule as a minor amendment of highway laws. For the sake of precision and uniformity of treatment, all are written in legal language, sometimes confusing to visitors. From the visitors' gallery the goings on of the Legislature might seem a word game of calculated proportions, some-

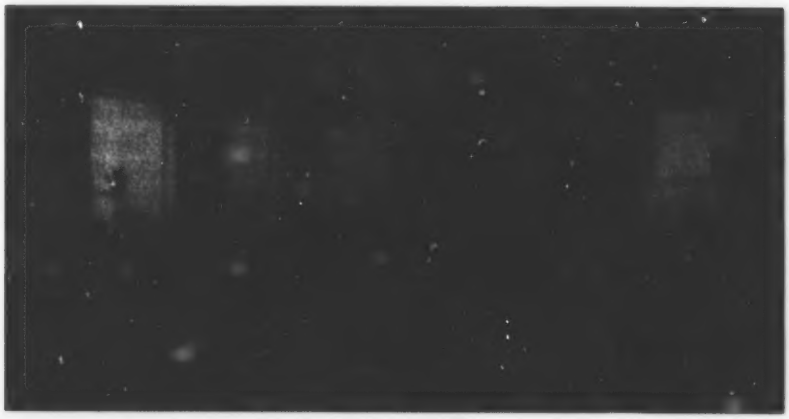
Halifax as seen from Grafton and Blowers streets, looking northwest across the Citadel, earlier in this century.

how played for keeps. Yet that play between the government side and the Members of the Opposition in this country is truly the freedom game.

Charles Dickens wrote of the Legislature proceedings in 1842. "It was like looking at Westminster (the British House of Commons) through the wrong end of the telescope. The Governor delivered the Speech from the Throne. The military band outside struck up God Save the Queen with great vigour; the people shouted; the Ins rubbed their hands, the Outs shook their heads; the Government party said there never was such a good speech; the Opposition declared there never was such a bad one; and in short everything went on and promised to go on just as it does at home."

The great 19th century novelist was describing (tongue in cheek) the ceremonial opening of the Nova Scotia annual session. At that time it took place in the Legislative Council Chamber, today it is in the Legislative Assembly Chamber. Except that Canada has come into being in the meanwhile, and the band now plays the National Anthem as well as God Save the Queen, Dickens' description might have been written today. That little Assembly Chamber in Province House, the crucible of Canadian freedoms, is about the smallest in the country. But never mind. The scale is human. And the classical order and balance of the building, one of the best examples of 18th century style in Canada, reflects the profound faith that reasonable men can run their own affairs in peace.

Inside the Chamber, the space is divided by a centre aisle, like two sides of an apple pie. At the head of the aisle is the elevated and ornately carved chair of the Speaker of the House. On the Speaker's right sit the Members of the Legislature who form the Government and those who support it (the party in power); on the Speaker's left are the Members of the Opposition (those not in power). The Government and the Opposition face each other across the centre aisle like two competing football teams. The Speaker acts as the referee. But there is more to the job than that.



The Investiture of the Earl of Bessborough in the Red Room of Province House in 1931. He was the last Governor General of Canada to be sworn in at Province House.

Looking south along Barrington Street from the Grand Parade some time after the turn of the century. Halifax streetcars went into service in 1896.

Mr. Speaker

In the House of Assembly, Mr. Speaker is the chairman, both the man in charge of all that takes place within those walls, and the chief servant of this historic institution. All remarks made in the House are addressed to Mr. Speaker. The reason for this is to minimize personal attacks, by one Member against another.

The Speaker is an elected Member of the Legislative Assembly, usually chosen from the party in power. By tradition he is nominated for the position by the Premier and seconded by the Leader of the Opposition, demonstrating the impartiality of the position. He presides over the business of the House, ensuring proper procedures and decorum.

The Speaker has jurisdiction over all matters concerning Province House, except the Premier's office and staff and the cabinet room. He is also chairman of the Internal Economy Board which has to do with all phases of finances of the House, including that of Members. He has the authority to decide, without any debate, whether or not a matter is proper to be discussed. The office holds great symbolic significance. As "first commoner", he represents the supremacy of Parliament over the representative of, and directly, the Crown.

It wasn't always that way. In England's Mother of Parliaments, the Speaker used to be the King's agent - literally the man who spoke for the King - an uneasy position under pressure of both Crown and commoners, and fraught with the perils of the Tower. The turning point came under ill-fated Charles I when his Speaker timorously declaimed that he had, "neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place but as the House doth direct me, whose servant I am." And by the end of the 17th century the King, by default, had lost to Parliament his right to name the Speaker in England. The first mention of a Speaker for Nova Scotia was in Cornwallis' commission of 1749 which instructed him to provide for an Assembly of no fewer than 11 men, not including the Speaker. Gradually, the "first commoner" became Parliament's man, and the impartial arbiter of the House which he is today.

Below the Speaker's dais in the Assembly sits the next most important officer, the Clerk of the House, whose traditions reach almost as far back as those of the Speaker. The Clerk and the Assistant Clerk prepare the daily agenda for the House, call off the items of business, and officially count the votes of Members.

Cradled on the Clerk's desk is the Mace, ancient symbol of the royal authority, delegated in Nova Scotia to the Legislative Assembly. It derives from the battle weapon carried by the sergeants-at-arms in the bodyguard of medieval English Kings when they conducted their own assemblies. As the symbol of Parliamentary authority, the Mace today is the standard around which the Assembly gathers (and no business is conducted by the House without it). Guardian of the Mace is the Sergeant-at-Arms, now the Speaker's policeman in morning dress, ever ready to back up the Speaker in maintaining order. If the Sergeant-at-Arms has to make an arrest, the Mace is his warrant.

Soon after the Nova Scotia Legislature occupied Province House in 1819, assemblymen seeking a Mace suitable to their fine new quarters were embarrassed to learn that, at the time, it should have been a gift of the Crown. Silver gilt and four feet tall, the present Mace was the gift of former Chief Justice Robert E. Harris and his wife, presented to the House of Assembly in 1930. Depicted in its elegant surfaces are the Royal Crown, the Great Seal of the Province, the Speaker in his robes of office, and entwined mayflowers - the floral emblem of Nova Scotia.

On the day a new session of the Legislature opens, the Lieutenant Governor's presence is the main event, as Dickens observed. When the Lieutenant Governor approaches to open the House, Mr. Speaker vacates his chair to the vice-regal representative, exchanges his top hat for the ceremonial wig of a British jurist and appears, accompanied by his Clerks and the Sergeant-at-Arms, before the formally-attired Lieutenant Governor for his reading of the Speech from the Throne - a document prepared in cabinet outlining the Government's proposed legislative program. After the Lieutenant Governor departs, the Speaker resumes his regular seat and tall silk hat, and the Assembly gets down to business. The vice-regal presence will not return until invited to give royal assent to bills passed in this session, and later to prorogue the House.

The Speaker of the House wearing his robes of office in the Assembly Chamber. In background is the Speaker's chair, and the Clerk's table with the Mace in position.

The Business of The House

The Throne Speech initiates the first big round of debate in the House. As soon as two designated Members on the Government side have moved and seconded an address in reply to the Speech from the Throne, the Leader of Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition speaks, usually criticizing the Government and its proposals. The leader of the second party in opposition offers another critique and the debate on the Address in Reply goes on, affording every Member of the House the chance to speak if he or she wants to - including the Premier, who usually rebuts the Opposition Leader.

The debate on the Reply to the Speech from the Throne allows the backbenchers to air all the grievances of their home constituencies. As the alternate scoldings and bouquets continue, substantial material accumulates in the form of new facts and perceptions on the current conduct of public affairs in the province. The adversary approach is no charade. The debate can be informative and, equally important, it can help sort out early the real issues of contention to be taken up by the Government and Opposition benches.

The Government proposes, the Opposition opposes - not just to be difficult, or to embarrass the Government (though this sometimes happens) but because, in the House of Assembly, opposing the Government is the assigned task of the Opposition. It's a job which, outside the House, is not very well understood. True, the Opposition is made up of representatives of the political party or parties which are not in power, and their partisan function is to prove themselves to the electorate as a better choice than the incumbent Government whenever the next provincial election is called. In the meantime, however, that drive to power provides invaluable motivation for the Opposition in performing its principal role while the House is in session. That role is to take apart, and scrutinize for faults as carefully as possible, every action and proposal of the Government. The aim should not be obstruction; rather on behalf of the people, an honest improvement in legislation. In this the adversary approach works well. Over the years, legislative proposals of various governments have been extensively revised, shelved or supplanted in the light of valid criticism by a hardworking Opposition.

Though the Throne Speech debate is lengthy, it is not continuous and is adjourned frequently so that the House may deal with other matters, notably the introduction or "first reading" of new bills containing proposed legislation which the Government wants passed by the Assembly sometime during the session. Governments not only propose, they also govern - with the support of their majority in the Assembly. It is the Government, and not the Opposition parties, which is responsible for initiating new policies and legislation. Hence, it is a rare occasion when an Opposition motion is approved by the House.

The Assembly Chamber in Province House, with the Speaker's chair to the right, seating for Members of the Assembly on the main floor, and benches in the balcony for visitors and press.

The established processes by which the House gives its consideration and approval of new bills are elaborately cautious. By the time the Speaker of the House recognizes the Cabinet Minister who will introduce a government bill, the contents have already been worked up by the required department of government, and Cabinet decisions made.

On first reading, all the Minister does is read the title of the bill. It is then registered with the Clerk of the House who has the bill printed and distributed to Members, in preparation for "second reading", when the Minister who introduced it must rise and explain to the House the purpose of the bill.

Debate is permitted at this point, from which Members are provided with information and opinions, before the Speaker refers the bill to the Committee on Law Amendments or the Committee on Private and Local Bills, for close study and recommendation.

The considerations of the Law Amendments Committee are extremely important in the passage of public legislation. The Attorney General is traditionally the chairman of this committee and he is assisted by a public servant, the Legislative Counsel, as his chief advisor. This is the most powerful committee of the Assembly, though the Committee of the Whole House, to whom the recommendations of Law Amendments are reported, can overrule it, though this rarely occurs.

Makeup of the Law Amendments Committee includes Members from both sides of the House, the Government predominating. However, partisan principles are relaxed in committee. In considering any given bill, committee members may hear expert witnesses or interested delegations, or even call public meetings. The committee may alter the bill (though not its intent), approve it without change or recommend against it entirely in reporting it back to the House.

Nova Scotia is unique in Canada insofar as the proceedings of the Law Amendments Committee are open to public participation and the press. It meets in the Red Chamber, the onetime home of the Legislative Council. Often, over 100 bills are passed into legislation in a session of the House, and this committee processes the most important of these to the public.

Other bills go to the Committee on Private and Local Bills, which considers proposed legislation affecting that for which the committee is named, and which does not affect the province as a whole.

All the bills which have survived the scrutiny of those committees are then referred by the Speaker to the Committee of the Whole House. This committee meets in the Legislative Chamber and is composed of all Members and is less formal than a regular sitting of the House. In all committees a simple majority wins a vote. The quorum on

Province House today is ringed with modern office towers, yet remains most important in the political history of the nation.

committees is one more than half the number. In the House, including Committee of the Whole House, a quorum is fifteen members, including the Speaker. If this number is not attained the Speaker adjourns the House.

During committee work the Speaker steps down from his dais, and that symbol of parliamentary authority, the Mace, is removed from view. In the Committee of the Whole House, presided over by the Deputy Speaker, any Member may speak as the bill is reviewed in detail, clause by clause. Once the bill is approved by this committee it goes back to the House for third and final reading in a formal sitting of the Assembly and, at this point, there is seldom any debate.

Following third reading, all bills are ready for the royal assent of the Lieutenant Governor, by which they become Acts of the Nova Scotia Legislature and are entered in the statute books. They may take effect immediately or, when specified, upon proclamation by the Lieutenant Governor at a future date.

When the Throne Speech debate concludes, the budget is "brought down" by the Minister of Finance. This usually involves a lengthy address to the House on the financial policies and plans of the Government, complete with a general accounting of expenditures for the past fiscal year, and the estimates of anticipated government revenue and expenditures in the coming year. The budget speech is followed immediately by the reply of the official Opposition financial critic - a member of the "shadow cabinet" of senior front bench Opposition Members who is specialized in reviewing government financial practices. Then the Premier, or House Leader, moves that the Assembly go into Committee of the Whole House again, this time on Supply. This is to consider providing the Government with the funds it needs to run the province for the next fiscal year.

In its role as watchdog of the public purse, the Opposition must dig energetically into the spending practices and proposals of Government, and reveal to the House and the public any inefficiencies or other defects in Government spending habits. This helps make the Committee on Supply the major focus of debate in the latter half of every session of the Legislature. The annual reports of all departments and other agencies of Government are tabled. Their financial statements are each verified by the Auditor General who, in Nova Scotia, reports to the Legislature rather than the Government. The Opposition critics attack and the Minister responsible for each department or agency defends its financial conduct and presents the estimates for the next year. Proposed new expenditures are closely examined before the Committee votes approval, in the traditional form of "Resolutions of Supply unto Her Majesty".

Government House continues to be an eloquent statement of the political wisdom and imagination of early Nova Scotians.

Royal Assent

When these resolutions are passed they form the basis of a bill granting the Government the funds needed for the forthcoming year's operation, entitled, "An Act to Provide for Defraying Certain Charges and Expenses of the Public Service of the Province". This bill is always the last one passed by the House, and the final bill of the session to be presented for royal assent.

The Lieutenant Governor occupies the Speaker's chair. The Speaker, who represents the House on this occasion, stands by the Clerk's desk and addresses the Lieutenant Governor:

> "Your Honour having been graciously pleased to give your assent to the bills passed during the present session, it becomes my agreeable duty on behalf of Her Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, Her faithful Commons of Nova Scotia, to present to Your Honour a bill for the appropriation of supply granted in the present session, for the support of the public service and to request Your Honour's assent thereto."

The Lieutenant Governor receives the bill from the Speaker and replies: "In Her Majesty's name I thank her loyal subjects; I accept their benevolence and assent to this bill."

This piece of protocol confirms the supremacy of Parliament over the Crown. The language emphasizes the control of the Assembly over the public purse, and makes assent to the other bills passed by the House a specific condition for passing the money bill.

On the opening day of each Legislature session after a General Election, ceremonial recognition also occurs. The Lieutenant Governor's first act after taking the Speaker's chair is to confirm the choice by the House of a Speaker, and accord the Members of the Assembly their customary rights and privileges-including their immunity from charges of slander and libel in Legislative sessions. The House, in turn, demonstrates its independence of the Crown by momentarily ignoring the Speech from the Throne, for the first reading of some bills, before moving the Address in Reply.

Some of the habits of the House are largely ritualistic. Others are designed for practical purposes of injecting order and efficiency into the conduct of parliamentary business. The heavy workload of Members and the complexity of activities during the time the House is in session are impressive. The House rules and a strong committee system help speed up the process while ensuring that sufficient attention is given to the immense amount of detail involved.

A great deal of the most difficult work of the Legislature is accomplished in committee. Normally, the House has some 10 to 15 different committees, categorized in three distinct types - Standing Committees, Select Committees and Committees of the Whole House - and all functioning more or less at the same time.

At the commencement of each session, a special committee, consisting of five members representing all parties, is appointed to prepare the listings to compose the standing committees of the House for the following purposes: Internal Affairs; Law Amendments; Private and Local Bills; Public Accounts; Economic Development; Human Resources; Community Services; Resources; and Veterans' Affairs.

The functions of the committees are:

(a) the Internal Affairs Committee is established for the purpose of considering rules, privileges, procedures, matters relative to the Legislative Library and Members' amenities and the like;

(b) the Economic Development Committee considers matters normally assigned to the Departments of Small Business Development, Industry, Trade and Technology, and Transportation and Communications.

(c) the Human Resources Committee considers matters normally assigned to the Departments of Labour, Education, Advanced Education and Job Training, and matters relating to the status of women.

(d) the Community Services Committee considers matters normally assigned to the Departments of Health and Fitness, Community Services, Housing, Consumer

Affairs, Municipal Affairs, and matters relating to the Human Rights Commission;

(e) the Resources Committee considers matters normally assigned to the Departments of Agriculture and Marketing, Fisheries, Tourism and Culture, Lands and Forests, and the Environment.

These committees, except for Law Amendments and Private and Local Bills, do not deal with bills, though at one time all bills came before such standing committees (and still do in other Canadian jurisdictions). Most of the standing committees consist of 9 members, sometimes more, sometimes less, drawn from all parties represented in the House, the Government side predominating. The two Committees of the Whole House, on Supply and on Bills, of course, include the full membership of the Assembly. Finally, there are the select committees of varied membership which from time to time may be named by the House to enquire into matters needing special study, such as electoral practices, or the advisability of new legislation which may be under consideration.

While all those committees of the House are meeting during the session, another form of committee-like session called a caucus is held daily by each of the political parties in the House. These are strategy sessions intended to inform Members and coordinate the positions taken in decision making and debate. Though not an official function of the House, the party caucuses help ensure the organized and thorough discussion of matters before the Assembly.

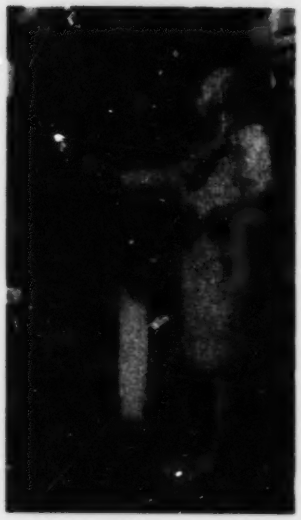
The hours of meeting of the Assembly (not including committees) are: Monday, 7 to 10 p.m.; Tuesday through Thursday, 2 to 6 p.m.; Friday, 11 a.m. to 2 p.m. However, as the session progresses and the backlog of work builds, time of the sitting is customarily extended to morning, evening and night sessions.

The House session is opened daily with prayers by the Speaker. The daily routine of business follows without debate: presenting and reading positions; presenting reports of committees; tabling reports, regulations and other papers; statements by ministers; Government notices of motion; introduction of bills, and notices of motion.

Tuesday through Thursday have question period following the above agenda. In these, Members have the opportunity to question Cabinet Ministers on Government policy. Wednesdays have periods given over to the Opposition parties and on Mondays and Fridays time is allotted for private and local bills and private member's public bills. Tuesdays through Thursdays include time for second reading of private and government bills, and a recent innovation in which Members are allotted 10 minute periods following the daily routine to speak on any matter they wish. Government business can be conducted on any day and has a priority listing.

At all times a Member of the House is addressed by his/her constituency rather than his/her name, Cabinet Ministers by their department title. When questions are put by Members they may be answered immediately, and are subject to two supplementary questions on the same subject. The Minister, as well, may take the question as notice, get the information required and answer later. A Minister cannot be forced to an immediate answer. If a question requires a lot of research or documentation it is usually asked in the form of a motion seeking an order for return - a reply which is returned to the House in writing at a later date. Question period lasts one hour, except on Wednesday when it lasts an hour and a half.

Government information provided the House is extensive. Included are the wide range of departmental and other government reports and publications tabled in the House, the reports of Select Committees, ministerial white papers on specific problems, the weighty finding of royal commissions recommending on such broad subjects as municipal financing, the numerous fact-finding and policy reports of special agencies appointed by Government, and a host of other publications, including Hansard. Named for the man who first introduced it in the British House of Commons, Nova Scotia's Hansard is the verbatim daily report of proceedings and debates of the House, indispensable to Assembly Members, and not to be confused with the Royal Gazette, published weekly by the Queen's Printer. Descended from Canada's first newspaper, the Royal Gazette publishes the official proclamations of new legislation, court notices and other information of interest to the legal community. Documents of the Government and the House - including the Journal of the first Nova Scotia Legislature - are in the extensive collection of the Nova Scotia Legislative Library.



The Legislative Library in Province House is located in the former Supreme Court Chamber where Joseph Howe faced trial in 1835. His statue is one of several made of Nova Scotia political figures in the Library collection.

The MLA

A new Member of the Legislature faces a formidable array of duties. If he/she happens to be in on a change of Government he/she may wind up in the cabinet, with a much stiffer agenda. However, most new Members usually start as backbenchers. At times parties provide training sessions on the floor of the House for new Members. The duties to the freshman are much more. He/she has to learn not only how to handle himself/herself in the House but to be able to prove himself/herself in caucus, develop a line of expertise from which he/she will benefit in committee work, be able to read his/her constituency electorate, develop a communication program with same, be able to adapt himself/herself to research and, frequently, to develop a personal program which will lead him/her up the political ladder to higher posts. An MLA is not permitted to vote on any matter in which he/she has a direct pecuniary interest.

As a local MLA (Member of the Legislative Assembly) he/she is the chief emissary to the provincial Government no matter where he/she sits in the House. His/her political job is likely to take most of his/her time throughout the year. Day in, day out, he/she must be in touch with the needs and opportunities of his/her constituency, keep up with provincial affairs, advise party colleagues, and convey the numerous requests of his/her constituents to Government.

The MLA may be a lawyer, teacher, businessman, farmer, or indeed of any calling. Yet, no matter where he/she lives, he/she must arrange to spend at least 2 to 3 months of the year in Halifax attending the annual Assembly - which has strict rules against absence, not to mention the demands of the party whips who insist that Members be in their seats when needed.

Many MLA's have staffed constituency offices to assist them at home. Most of the funds for these offices come from the Legislature. The nature of the political task and the large amount of time required probably affects the make up of the Legislature.

In the 1989 Legislature, most of the Ministers were professional persons. However, the representation of groups within the Legislature has changed considerably. At one time the Legislature was dominated by lawyers and farmers. The1990 House is made up of 12 teachers, 11 business persons, 8 lawyers, 6 farmers, 3 each of social workers and doctors, 2 each of retired persons, university professors, broadcasters, an airport manager, a fisherman, and a public servant.

The political life offers high purpose and personal recognition, and the challenge of significant accomplishment, but imposes

The magnificent Red Room in Province House was the meeting place of the former Legislative Council or Upper House. Around the historic oaken table in the foreground sat Governor Cornwalllis and the members of His Majesty's Council aboard the transport ship Beaufort in Halifax harbour in 1749--the year the city was founded.

exhausting labour and almost perpetual insecurity. However, having a hand in shaping the future of the people, society, community or nation, even in a small way, seems almost irresistible. It was the same for Howe and Tupper and all those other names in our vivid political history.

Of course, any Canadian citizen or British subject who has reached the age of 19, and is not otherwise disqualified, has the right to stand for election to the House of Assembly as the representative of his/her constituency in Nova Scotia. However, it takes more than ambition and good intentions to become a likely candidate and go on to win an election. Essentially, it requires the trust and approval of the voting majority of the constituency which, later, will be expressed at the ballot box. Unless the would-be candidate believes they have the active support of the constituency, or can obtain it before election day, they are probably wasting their time and money.

This is where the established political parties come in. Generating the active support needed at the constituency level to elect a candidate, against the competition of one or more opponents, demands strong organization and a lot of hard work on the part of numerous people, particularly in the six-week campaign period leading up to election day. The parties provide the organization and the workers and, most important, they lend the candidate a recognized political identification. Independents who occasionally sit in the Legislature usually are Members who have abandoned party affiliation after first being elected. It is still possible for a popular figure to win a seat in the House for the first time, with no help from any political party, but the odds are against it. In recent provincial elections nearly all successful candidates have had firm party affiliations.

The constituency is the basic unit for political organization, as it is for election purposes, for all parties. In Nova Scotia, the three main parties take different positions on public issues. However, at the constituency level, organization is quite similar. The three parties, Liberal, Progressive Conservative and New Democratic Party work, at the top, on a province-wide basis, with additional organizational apparatus at the local/constituency level. This reflects the fact that all Members of the Legislative Assembly must be elected, including those serving as Premier and Cabinet Ministers.

Organizations at the local level have as their titular head the sitting member, with an executive to support him/her. Where there is no local member the defeated candidate or president of the local organization is the head. The provincial executive of the parties reflect a regional representation to ensure no area of the Province is omitted from input to the party

A view of modern Halifax from the waterfront with the Citadel and the Duke of Kent's town clock upper left.

apparatus. As well, youth, student and womens' organizations are represented at the local and provincial levels.

The role of political organizations is twofold: first, to set up a vehicle to choose a candidate, and then, to supply that organization with the bodies to do the work for that candidate in an election campaign.

In most constituencies the candidate is chosen or endorsed at an open, public meeting, though usually dominated by party members. The person chosen by the meeting (convention) becomes the candidate and files official nomination papers with the local electoral officer.

In campaigns today, money plays a large part. Media advertising is almost prohibitively expensive. Therefore, most of the television advertising is done by the leader, or at least is built around that person. Traditionally, funds have come from private sources, including corporate, individual and institutional contributions, party dues, fundraisers and the candidates' individual contributions. Though the private financing of election campaigns was considered sound and practical in an earlier period, it has come under public criticism in recent years because of the apparent opportunity for abuses. The argument has been that private interests contributing funds to election candidates and their parties may seek favours in return, and these favours may not necessarily be in the public interest. Furthermore, rising campaign costs could increase the dependency of candidates on private contributors, while the election candidate with only modest funds would suffer a growing disadvantage.

Following the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Election Expenses in 1969, the Elections Act was amended to help regulate election spending. Based on the number of electors in each constituency, every qualifying candidate today is partially reimbursed for election expenses from public funds; the amount of contributions to election expenses (though not the identity of the donors) must be disclosed; a ceiling is placed on the amount of money the candidates may spend; and their true expenses must be reported publicly. Any irregularities may be considered evidence of corrupt practices and could bring fines or lose a Member his or her seat.

Political posters have always been important in informing Nova Scotia voters. At right is a 19th century poster issued by Joseph Howe.

Choosing The Leaders

Though the political parties have an important public role in recruiting candidates and presenting them to the electors for the purposes of popular choice, the parties have no official hand in the conduct of Government, nor in the selection of Cabinet Ministers and other elected or appointed officials, though their counsel must be heard as is that of other special interest groups. However, the parties do have a strong influence, even when not in power, on the general conduct of public affairs and on the direction of political thought in this country. Each party generates a powerful nucleus of political opinion and policies. In the regular provincial and national conventions of party delegates and politicians, the parties work up new political strategies and establish broad policy guidelines in relation to current conditions. The conventions provide a forum of grass-roots supporters, experienced politicians, intellectuals and innovators, where new ideas can be tested realistically. This is all very helpful to the political and Government leaders as well as rank and file legislators. However, in the conduct of the Legislature and of Government, the legislators are not bound to adopt party policies, since the fundamental responsibility of our elected parliamentarians and assemblymen is not to the party, but to the public.

In the position of selecting and presenting nearly all the election candidates, and being major sources of policy formation, the political parties have a strong hand in shaping the basic political alternatives available to the people. Of course, they are not the only force bearing on political opinion in this country. Among others are the media, the political and social science experts in the universities, the decisions of industrial corporations, labour, the general public sentiment, and the behaviour of other existing governments. However, apart from the politicians themselves, it is the political parties which are most directly concerned with the shape of practical politics in this country.

It is also the political parties which, indirectly, choose the heads of governments, both provincial and federal. In our system of government there is no general election for the position of Premier. The leader of each political party in Nova Scotia is elected by party delegates in a provincial party convention. He or she is either a Member already, or seeks a seat in the Legislature in a by-election or a general election. If the candidates of his or her party form the majority after a general election, then the party leader normally becomes the Premier, though still representing a local constituency.

On occasions when the Premier is not

Members of the Legislative Assembly seated in the Assembly Chamber.

present the Deputy-Premier takes over. He, as is the Premier, is guided by the House Leader who is responsible for the day-to-day activity of the House. A similar situation exists in the largest Opposition party which has a House Leader, second in standing to the Opposition Leader. If the Premier were to step down the Deputy-Premier would take his place on a temporary basis until the executive of that party could call a leadership convention to choose a new leader who would automatically succeed to the Premiership. This individual would have the opportunity to choose new Cabinet Ministers to suit his plans.

In forming a new Government the Premier chooses his Cabinet Ministers from the elected Members of his own political party. This is vital to preserving Government responsibility to the Legislature, but the fact that persons who might be qualified for Cabinet posts must first fight and win an election places limitations on the Premier's range of choice in forming his Government. However, there are ways of getting around this hurdle without subverting the system. Persons in private life who might be desirable in Cabinet may be informed of the Cabinet possibilities before running for election. Or the Premier may choose to appoint a new Cabinet Minister, and first set about finding him/her a constituency that would be likely to return the Government's choice.

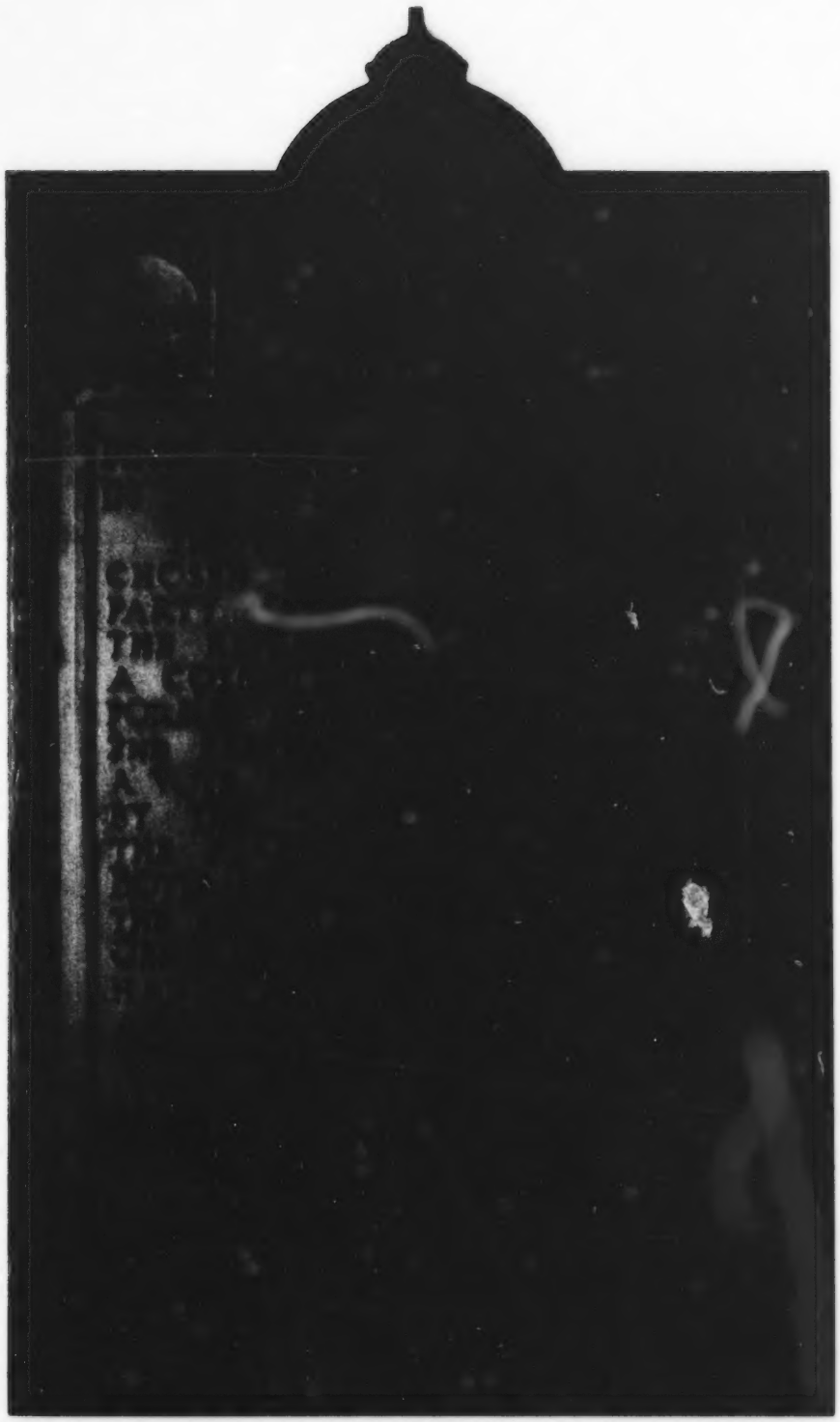
When important Cabinet Ministers are defeated at the polls in their home constituencies, sometimes an elected Member will resign a safe seat so that the defeated Minister may win a by-election and rejoin the Cabinet. The process of finding safe seats for candidates important to the Government of the day is quite legitimate but is used sparingly because of the discouraging effect it can have on the regular Assembly Members, as well as the implied judgement that somehow the decision of the electorate was inadequate. Nevertheless, it allows some flexibility in the system, so that any Premier, with adequate human resources at his disposal, should be able to assemble a reasonably good Cabinet and effectively govern the province, provided he has a working majority in the House.

Political leadership in the Legislature and Government of Nova Scotia today begins with the Premier and includes the members of his Cabinet, as well as the Opposition leaders. Cabinet solidarity tends to prevent dissenting Ministers from publicly criticizing their peers or the policies of Cabinet - unless they first resign. However, within the limits of these traditional practices, most Ministers are able to develop and exercise strong positions of political leadership. This is felt in Cabinet, in the direction of their departments of Government, and in their public activities which may affect the political climate of the province.

Strong political leadership depends in large part on the quality of people entering political life, the degree of popular support for the Government of the day, particularly as manifested in the majority it commands in the House of Assembly, and finally our democratic process which nurtures certain forms of leadership in preference to others. As in the days of Howe and Tupper, the most favoured leaders are those of high accomplishment who retain the common touch. Responsible men and women of the people are preferred above autocrats.

These democratic preferences are firmly woven into the Nova Scotia political tradition. Besides providing the first example of democratic government in this country, Nova Scotians also supplied much of the political experience needed to guide the new nation of Canada in the early years. Joseph Howe even undertook to instruct the British leaders of his time in the true principles of democracy.

It was the quality of Nova Scotia political leadership in the formative years of the 19th century which gave the old Royal Province first place in Canadian politics, and presented this new nation of ours with the modern political freedoms we all enjoy today.



A memorial tablet in Province House commemorating the first responsible government which took office in 1848.

Members of the First Nova Scotia Legislative Assembly 1758

Including, where known, their occupations and places of origin.

John Anderson, merchant	--
William Best, mason	England
Jonathan Binney, merchant	Hull, Mass.
John Burbidge, farmer	England
Robert Campbell, merchant	England
Joseph Fairbanks, merchant	Sherborn, Mass.
Henry Ferguson, merchant	--
John Fillis, merchant	Boston, Mass.
Lambert Folkers, baker	--
William Foye, soldier	Boston, Mass.
Benjamin Gerrish, merchant	Boston, Mass.
Joseph Gerrish, merchant	Boston, Mass.
Philip Hammond, merchant	New England
Alexander Kedie, carpenter	England
Philip Knaut, merchant	Saxony
William Nesbitt, attorney	England
Henry Newton, customs collector	Nova Scotia
William Pantree, merchant	--
Joseph Rundle, merchant	Mass.
Malachy Salter, merchant	Mass.
Robert Sanderson, merchant	Mass.
George Suckling, attorney and merchant	--

The Governors of Nova Scotia (or Acadia)

Early Nova Scotia included all the present Maritime Provinces, as well as a portion of Quebec and the State of Maine. For more than a century the territory was in dispute. The British called it Nova Scotia; the French name was Acadia. Changes in ownership of the land are reflected in the sequence of French and British Governors. Overlapping dates among some of the Governors indicate sometimes conflicting jurisdictions in the territory.

Pierre du Gua, sieur de Monts (1603-07)
Sir William Alexander (1621-31)
Charles de Saint-Etienne, sieur de la Tour (1631-41)
Isaac de Razilly (1632-35)
Charles de Menou, seigneur d'Aulnay (1638-1650)
Nicolas Denys (1654-)
Charles de Saint-Etienne, sieur de la Tour (1651-1656)
Emmanuel Le Borgne (1657-67)
Thomas Temple (1657-61)
Mark Harrison (1661)
Charles Breedon (1661-62)
Sir Thomas Temple (1662-70)
Hector d'Andigne de Grandfontaine (1670-73)
Jacques de Chambly (1673-84)
Francois-Marie Perrot (1684-87)
Louis-Alexandre des Friches, sieur de Meneval (1687-1690)
Joseph Robineau de Villebon (1691-1701)
Jacques Francois de Brouillan (1701-1705)
Daniel d'Auger de Subercase (1706-1710)
Samuel Vetch (1710-12)
Frances Nicholson (1712-15)
Richard Phillips (1717-49)
Edward Cornwallis (1749-52)
Peregrine Thomas Hopson (1752-53)
Charles Lawrence (1756-60)
Henry Ellis (1761-63)
Montague Wilmot (1764-66)
Lord William Campbell (1766-73)
Francis Legge (1773-82)
John Parr (1782-86)

The Lieutenant Governors of Nova Scotia

The vice-regal representative in Nova Scotia normally held the rank of Governor, and only occasionally Lieutenant Governor until 1786, after which all have been Lieutenant Governors. During periods when no vice-regal representative was in office, an Administrator was in charge.

Charles Lawrence (1753-56)
Jonathan Belcher (1760-63)
Mariot Arbuthnot (1776-78)
Richard Hughes (1778-81)
Sir Andrew Snape Hamond (1781-82)
Edmund Fanning (1783-86)
John Parr (1786-91)
Sir John Wentworth (1792-1808)
Sir George Prevost (1808-11)
Sir John Sherbrooke (1811-16)
Earl of Dalhousie (1816-20)
Sir James Kempt (1820-28)
Sir Peregrine Maitland (1828-34)
Sir Colin Campbell (1834-40)
Viscount Falkland (1840-46)
Sir John Harvey (1846-52)
Sir John Gaspard Le Marchant (1852-58)
Earl of Mulgrave (1858-63)
Sir Richard Graves MacDonnell (1864-65)
Sir W. Fenwick Williams (1865-67)
Sir C. Hastings Doyle (1867-73)
Joseph Howe (1873)
Sir Adams G. Archibald (1873-83)
M.H. Richey (1883-88)
A.W. McLelan (1888-90)
Sir Malachy B. Daly (1890-1900)
A.G. Jones (1900-06)
Duncan C. Fraser (1906-10)
J.D. McGregor (1910-15)
David MacKeen (1915-16)
MacCallum Grant (1916-25)
J. Robson Douglas (1925)
James C. Tory (1925-30)
Frank Stanfield (1930-31)
W.H. Covert (1931-37)
Robert Irwin (1937-40)
F.F. Mathers (1940-42)
H.E. Kendall (1942-47)
J.A.D. McCurdy (1947-52)
Allistair Fraser (1952-58)
E.C. Plow (1958-63)
Henry Poole MacKeen (1963-68)
Victor deB. Oland (1968-73)
Dr. Clarence L. Gosse (1973-78)
John E. Shaffner (1978-84)
Alan R. Abraham (1984-89)
Lloyd R. Crouse (1989-)

The Governors of Cape Breton Island (or Isle Royal)

When Britain finally acquired Nova Scotia by treaty in 1713, Cape Breton Island was ceded to the French. Returned to Nova Scotia after the second siege of Louisbourg in 1758, this large island which the French called Ile Royal, was a separate British colony from 1784 to 1820 when it rejoined Nova Scotia.

Phillipe de Costebelle (1714-1717)
Joseph de St. Ovide de Brouillan (1717-39)
Isaac Louis de Fornat (1739-40)
Jean Baptiste Prevot du Quesnel (1740-44)
Peter Warren (1745–46)
Charles Knowles (1746-47)
Peregrine Thomas Hopson (1748-49)
Charles Desherbiers (1749-51)
Jean Louis, Comte de Raymond (1751)
Augustin de Drucour (1754-58)

The Lieutenant Governors and Administrators of Cape Breton

John Parr, Governor (September 1784)
Joseph Frederick Wallet DesBarres, Lt. Governor (1784-87)
William Macormick, Lt. Governor (1787-1795)
David Mathews, Administrator (1795-1798)
James Ogilvie, Administrator (1798-1799)
John Murray, Administrator (1799-1800)
John Despard, Administrator (1800-1807)
Nicholas Nepean, Administrator (1807-1812)
Hugh Swayne, Administrator (1813-1816)
Jonas Fitzherbert, Administrator (1816)
George Robert Ainslie, Lt. Governor (1816-1820)
David Stewart, Administrator (1820)

Premiers of Nova Scotia

J.B. Uniacke (1848-54)	Reform (Liberal)
William Young (1854-57)	Liberal
J.W. Johnston (1857-60)	Conservative
William Young (1860)	Liberal
Joseph Howe (1860-63)	Liberal
J.W. Johnston (1863-64)	Conservative
Sir Charles Tupper (1864-67)	Conservative
Hiram Blanchard (1867)	Confederate (Conservative)
William Annand (1867-75)	Anti-Confederate (Liberal)
P.C. Hill (1875-78)	Liberal
S.D. Holmes (1878-82)	Conservative
J.S.D. Thompson (1882)	Conservative
W.T. Pipes (1882-84)	Liberal
W.S. Fielding (1884-96)	Liberal
G.H. Murray (1896-1923)	Liberal
E.H. Armstrong (1923-25)	Liberal
E.N. Rhodes (1925-30)	Conservative
G.S. Harrington (1930-33)	Conservative
Angus L. Macdonald (1933-40)	Liberal
A.S. MacMillan (1940-45)	Liberal
Angus L. Macdonald (1945-54)	Liberal
Harold Connolly (1954)	Liberal
Henry D. Hicks (1954-56)	Liberal
Robert L. Stanfield (1956-67)	Progressive Conservative
G.I. Smith (1967-70)	Progressive Conservative
Gerald A. Regan (1970-78)	Liberal
John M. Buchanan (1978-90)	Progressive Conservative
Roger S. Bacon (1990-)	Progressive Conservative

Speakers

Robert Sanderson (1758-59)	
William Nesbitt (1759-83)	
Henry Denny Denson (1773)	
Thomas Cochrane (1784-85)	
S.S. Blowers (1785-88)	
Richard John Uniacke (1789-93)	
Thomas Barclay (1793-99)	
Richard John Uniacke (1799-1805)	
W. Cottnam Tonge (1805-06)	
Lewis M. Wilkins (1806-17)	Conservative
S.B. Robie (1817-24)	Conservative
S.W.G. Archibald (1825-40)	Reform
Joseph Howe (1841-43)	Reform
William Young (1843-54)	Reform
Stewart Campbell (1854-61)	Liberal
Alexander C. MacDonald (1861-63)	Liberal
John C. Wade (1864-67)	Conservative
John J. Marshall (1868-70)	Conservative
J.C. Troop (1871-74)	Liberal
John B. Dickie (1875)	Liberal
Mather B. DesBrisay (1875-76)	Liberal
I. Newton Mack (1877-78)	Liberal
E.T. Moseley (1879-82)	Conservative
Angus McGillvray (1883-86)	Liberal
Michael J. Power (1887-94)	Liberal
Frederick A. Laurence (1895-1901)	Liberal
Thomas Robertson (1902)	Liberal
Frederick A. Laurence (1903-04)	Liberal
Edward M. Farrell (1905-10)	Liberal
George E. Faulkner (1910-11)	Liberal
James F. Ellis (1912-16)	Liberal
Robert Irwin (1917-25)	Liberal
Albert Parsons (1926-28)	Conservative
Daniel George McKenzie (1929-33)	Conservative
L.C. Gardner (1934-38)	Liberal
Moses E. McGarry (1939)	Liberal
G.E. Romkey (1940-53)	Liberal
J. Smith McIvor (1954-56)	Liberal
W.S.K. Jones (1957-60)	Progressive Conservative
Harvey A. Veniot (1961-68)	Progressive Conservative
Gordon H. Fitzgerald (1969-70)	Progressive Conservative
George M. Mitchell (1970-73)	Liberal
James L. Connolly (1973-74)	Liberal
Vincent MacLean (1974-76)	Liberal
George Doucet (1977-78)	Liberal
Ronald Russell (1978-80)	Progressive Conservative
Arthur R. Donahoe (1981-)	Progressive Conservative

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